Review of the Draft Stockholm Region RUFS 2010

WORKING PAPER 1:2009

Foreword

What lessons could be learnt from Melbourne 2030 and how is it relevant to the RUFS 2010 process? Melbourne 2030 is a metropolitan strategy that in accordance with RUFS is facing challenges similar in most urban regions. Both strategies has to manage a fast population growth, structural and economical changes and provide a sustainable growth perspective.

Under 2008 a broad consultation process was carried out round the draft RUFS 2010. More than 200 stakeholders on al local, regional and state level were involved in discussing and formulating their views on vision, goals and strategies presented in Regional utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen – RUFS 2010 – samrådsförslag.

This working paper by Cathy Wilkinson provides an important complement to the key standpoints that is the result of the five month long consultation process. Cathy Wilkinson was the Executive Director, Strategy Development with the Department of Sustainability and Environment for the Victorian State Government in Melbourne, Australia. She was responsible for the development, finalisation and implementation of Melbourne 2030 between 1999–2006.

In this paper Cathy Wilkinson presents her experiences and give advice that I believe will be an essential input to the process of finalising RUFS 2010.

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Executive summary

This report provides an international perspective on the draft Regional utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen – RUFS 2010 based primarily on lessons learnt from the development and implementation of Melbourne's most recent metropolitan strategy, Melbourne 2030. The focus of this report is to provide strategic level advice to inform the final RUFS 2010.

The draft RUFS is an extremely thorough and considered document. It explicitly highlights the challenges faced by most large developed city-regions across the world and provides a refreshingly open discussion of the associated urban governance dilemmas. It presents genuinely alternative overall spatial structure options (compact vs dispersed) for public comment and debate. The overall vision-goals-strategies framework is sound and deep integration of this framework with the planning goals and undertakings is evident.

There are three main aspects of the draft RUFS that this report addresses. For each of these the report provides a summary of Melbourne's experience, followed by a discussion of the possible relevance to the draft RUFS process. The following strategic considerations for the finalisation of the Stockholm region RUFS are identified:

The role of a metropolitan strategy in managing uncertainty
- Selection between the two spatial structures should be based on which one offers the Stockholm region the greatest potential to sustainably adapt to a range of future scenarios.
- A mode of urban governance more akin to 'strategic navigation' should be explored as the framework within which indicators can be selected and used. This urban governance mode needs to be adaptive, responsive and tied to trajectories and scenarios.
- Preparation of resilience assessments and plans at both the local and the regional level should be identified as an additional undertaking in the RUFS.
- In the same way that the robustness of energy and transportation systems are addressed in the draft RUFS, consideration should be given to the robustness of the food supply system for the Stockholm region.

Strategic priorities
- Sustainable decision principles should be included in the RUFS to provide a basis for dealing with the inevitable trade-offs that will be required between various goals and strategies and in light of the identified challenges over time. These should be appropriate to the decision arena.
- Consideration should be given to whether there are any key actions that could be agreed to accompany release of the RUFS.
- A systems assessment of the key leveragable strategies that have the potential to shape the whole urban system should be undertaken and prioritised in the subsequent implementation program.

Ongoing ownership for implementation beyond release of the plan

• The design of next phase of the RUFS process (development of the ongoing implementation program) needs to begin now in order to maximise the opportunity to sustain and grow ownership for the extensive coordination efforts required across a diverse range of actors.

• Consideration should be given at this stage of the RUFS process to creating narrative/s that can be woven together to share the story of the complexities and strategic priorities of the RUFS.

Introduction

This report provides an international perspective on the draft *Regional utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen – RUFS 2010* based primarily on lessons learnt from the development and implementation of Melbourne's most recent metropolitan strategy, *Melbourne 2030*.

Cathy Wilkinson was the Executive Director, Strategy Development with the Department of Sustainability and Environment for the Victorian State Government. She was an original member of the metropolitan strategy project team and ultimately responsible for the development, finalisation and implementation of Melbourne 2030 between 1999–2006.

This report draws on Melbourne's experience and identifies key learnings from the strategy development and implementation process of relevance to the draft Stockholm RUFS. Attached to this report is a table that contains more detailed comparisons of various aspects of Melbourne 2030 and the draft RUFS.

The focus of this report is to provide strategic level advice to inform the finalisation of the draft RUFS. The reflections and recommendations included in this report are based on a desktop review of the draft RUFS and subsequent discussions with Peter Haglund. It must be acknowledged that this report has been prepared from a position of limited (albeit growing) knowledge of the Swedish planning and governance system and in absence of an intimate knowledge of Stockholm's particular geography.

Melbourne 2030: Planning for sustainable growth

Melbourne is the capital of the State of Victoria and is Australia's second largest city after Sydney with a population of 3.7 million and an average annual growth rate of 1.3 per cent according to the 2006 population census.
Melbourne 2030: Planning for Sustainable Growth is the Victorian Government's most recent metropolitan strategy for Melbourne, Australia. It was released in October 2002. The OECD Territorial Review of Melbourne concluded that:

'the Victorian State Government, through its policies and the Melbourne Metropolitan Strategy, is in the vanguard of metropolitan areas in the OECD in terms of governance'.[1]

An informal review of Melbourne 2030 implementation was undertaken by the Australia Strategic Foresight Institute in early 2005. The first formal 5 yearly review of implementation was finalised by an Independent Audit Group in 2008.

The draft RUFS is being developed in a similar manner to Melbourne 2030 including extensive technical research, community and stakeholder engagement and political deliberation. As Melbourne is approximately 8 years further on in the process it is valuable to reflect on what the Victorian Government learnt through the process and how the Stockholm RUFS process can benefit from these insights.

The draft Stockholm RUFS

The draft RUFS is an extremely thorough and considered document. It explicitly highlights the challenges faced by most large developed city-regions across the world and provides a refreshingly open discussion of the associated urban governance dilemmas. It presents genuinely alternative overall spatial structure options (compact vs dispersed) for public comment and debate. The overall vision-goals-strategies framework is sound and deep integration of this framework with the planning goals and undertakings is evident.

This is not an easy accomplishment and the bureaucrats, politicians and stakeholders who have contributed to date should be congratulated. The comments included in the body of this report are intended as constructive input into an ongoing process of finalisation of the draft RUFS.

There are three main aspects of the draft RUFS that this report addresses in more detail below as follows:

• The role of a metropolitan strategy in managing uncertainty
• Strategic priorities
• Ongoing ownership for implementation beyond release of the plan

For each of these a brief summary of Melbourne's experience is provided, followed by a discussion of the possible relevance to the draft RUFS process. Strategic considerations are included at the end of each section.

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[1] OECD 2003:237

Managing uncertainty – the role of metropolitan planning?

The Melbourne experience

One of the fundamental challenges for spatial planning and governance today is how to adequately respond to the uncertainty and complexity of processes that influence structural changes in city-regions.

When the first metropolitan plan was prepared for Melbourne in 1929 it was framed as a 'blueprint' and it was assumed that the physical maps it contained showing proposed roads and railways and new garden city like settlement areas would progressively be implemented in an orderly manner. However, urban processes are rarely so predictable. There are always unanticipated changes that in turn can have a dramatic influence on urban development and interrupt even the best paid plans. In Melbourne, the increasing dominance of the car, the post-industrial shift away from manufacturing towards the service and innovation econ-omy, globalisation and more recently climate change have all significantly affected the city's evolution. These types of processes cannot be 'controlled' through engi-neering type blueprints that assume linear processes of structural change. Instead more dynamic and adaptive metropolitan/regional planning processes are needed.

The Victorian Government grappled with this dilemma throughout the prepara-tion of Melbourne 2030. There were a number of ways that Melbourne 2030 ad-dressed this issue:

• 'adaptability' was included as one of seven underlying principles
• the preferred spatial structure was the one that enabled greatest adaptability to expected and unexpected changes over time – a compact city with good internal public transport networks connecting activity centres and improved regional public transport networks throughout the greater region
• the implementation program deliberately included a broad range of implementa-tion mechanisms[2] as follows:

> – policy (eg. public policy commitment to climate change goals)
> – legislation (eg. law to enforce an Urban Growth Boundary)
> – advocacy (eg. behavioural change programs)
> – fiscal (eg. taxation ie. congestion tax)
> – financial (eg. infrastructure investment)
> – knowledge management (eg. public reporting of land supply/demand data)
> – institutional (eg. new governance arrangements ie. the Growth Areas Authority)
> – asset management (eg. allocation of road space)

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[2] Niven and Wilkinson 2005

Even with this explicit attempt to approach the city as a complex adaptive system subject to non-linear structural change, once Melbourne 2030 was released there was a strong tendency by the media and politicians to frame the strategy as a 'blueprint'. Unfortunately this description became part of the dominant 'story' of Melbourne 2030. Describing Melbourne 2030 as a blueprint implied that the vision was achievable simply if the plan was implemented. This belies the complexity of achieving substantial urban change. This desire for certainty it is not surprising in the context that:

'a so-called metropolitan strategy is first and foremost a political, rather than a planning, document' [3]

However it did have several negative side effects as follows:
• the dynamic between state government officials and stakeholders became more 'us' and 'them' rather than a collective responsibility, willingness and capacity to work towards common goals
• the spaces for continued collaborative discussion and dialogue and exchange of views on metropolitan/regional planning and implementation progressively declined after release of the plan
• in some cases the impression was given that a 'one size fits all' approach was being applied to response to unintended consequences that didn't recognise local differences
• ownership for ongoing implementation outside the core project team declined

These developments were all very difficult to counter post-release of Melbourne 2030. In early 2005, work began with the Australian Strategic Foresight Institute (ASFI) to examine how implementation could be improved from a long term perspective. The ASFI's starting point was that urban planning and governance occurs in:

'an essentially messy, uncertain and unmanageable world' [4]

The role of state government in this context must avoid a 'command and control' approach to management based on an assumed capacity to single-handedly influence urban change. Rather analysis of the complexities of urban processes needs to become more sophisticated, progress needs to be constantly monitored against a variety of scenarios and regular adjustments need to be made towards desired trajectories. In Melbourne, we called this type of planning 'strategic navigation' . Some of the shifts a 'strategic navigation' [5] approach requires include:
• from blueprint TO scenarios/foresighting
• from 226 initiatives TO a handful of leveraging strategies for shaping the whole urban system

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[3] Sandercock and Freidmann 2000:530
[4] Thoughtpost edge 2005:2
[5] Strategic Navigation' as a methodology was co-founded by Richard Hames and Marvin Oka in a business management context in their work with the Australian Taxation Office. At the time of this collaboration with the Strategic Foresight Masters consultant team, Richard Hames was working on his now published book, the Five Literacies of Global Leadership, which includes 'strategic navigation' as the fourth literacy. DSE's exploration of 'strategic navigation' was informed by Richard Hames deep knowledge and experience of this evolving methodology as well as the Strategy Development Divison's own application of it to urban governance.

- from patchy intelligence, delayed response, inadequate coordination TO dynamic feedback, rapid response and strategic coordination capacity.

Relevance for the draft Stockholm RUFS

The draft RUFS recognises the complex processes that affect urban change, the inherent uncertainties to which a city must respond and the fact that it is the cumulative action of numerous actors that influences how a city changes.[6] This is a sound and necessary starting point to avoid the tendency to narrow and simplistic ways of coping with uncertainty.

However, Melbourne's experience was that this capacity to stay open to the inherent uncertainties in urban systems reduced over time once Melbourne 2030 was released. This created significant difficulties in subsequent implementation processes. It is perhaps useful therefore to reflect further both on why it is important to stay open and what can be done at this stage of the RUFS process to create favourable conditions for pro-actively addressing uncertainties.

The resilience of cities to economic, social and environmental change will become increasingly important as a competitive strength in the context of current global economic uncertainty and the need for significant adaptation in the face of peak oil and climate change. The range and extremity of events to which cities will be exposed and need to adapt is likely to become more frequent, be it more extreme weather events, the current credit crisis or pandemic outbreaks. The best way for a city to become and remain resilient is to acknowledge the inherent uncertainties that affect structural urban change, identify systemic responses and prioritise necessary investment that builds adaptiveness and resilience.

A key challenge for large city-regions like Stockholm is that a majority of the urban infrastructure for the city of 2050 is already in place. The urban fabric of cities changes slowly. It takes time to design, procure, fund and build new railways, energy supply systems. It takes time to reskill inhabitants towards more climate aware or inclusive behaviours. Yet increasingly cities need to achieve these shifts quickly, in response to possibly urgent and sometimes unexpected needs.

The draft RUFS currently analyses most critical supply systems (eg. water, energy, transport) and makes significant recommendations as to how they can become more resilient by in some cases diversifying supply (eg. renewal energy) and/or networking currently unconnected systems (eg. cross town public transport networks). Consideration should also be given to the resilience of the region's food supply systems. Furthermore, there is merit in evaluating all these systems (energy, food, transport, water, ecosystem services) against a range of scenarios including those that would likely result in contraction/localisation of existing global supply chains. The purpose of such evaluation is to design future additions to these systems that maximise adaptability to a range of scenarios and so invest in medium-long term competitiveness. Resilience planning is increasingly important for cities in order to prepare for possibly rapid shifts and given the mismatch with long lead times for hard urban infrastructure investment.

The draft RUFS presents two alternative spatial strategies – the compact city-region and the dispersed city-region. In choosing between these a thorough analysis of the relative adaptability and resilience to a range of scenarios both offer should be a priority.

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[6] Regional utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen – RUFS 2010 Samrådsförslag, pages 12, 15, 32, 38, 42

Currently, the draft RUFS provides clarity on shared goals for the Stockholm region and defers to a subsequent stage developing a comprehensive implementation plan. There is a useful typology of likely responses to planning problems under these conditions where the goal is agreed but the means, or technology, is not (see Figure 1 below). Experimentation is the most likely result and success is dependent on innovation and responsiveness. This provides a useful framework for the stakeholders involved in the RUFS to be aware of as it will require very particular ways of working together if the current momentum behind the draft RUFS is to be maintained and the vision realised.

Figure 1: **Expectations of government associated with prototype conditions of and responses to planning problems**

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td colspan="2">Goal</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td>Agreed</td><td>Not agreed</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Technology</td><td>Known</td><td>**Programming**
Predictability
Equity
Accountability
Efficiency
Effectiveness</td><td>**Bargaining**
Accommodation of multiple preferences</td></tr>
<tr><td>Unknown</td><td>**Experimentation**
Innovation
Responsiveness</td><td>**Chaos**
Discovery or creation of order</td></tr>
</table>

Source: Christensen 1985

Strategic considerations:
- When choosing between the two spatial structures key consideration should be given to which one offers the Stockholm region the greatest potential to sustainably adapt to a range of future scenarios including but not limited to peak oil, major global economic restructuring, rapid population growth and climate change.
- A mode of urban governance more akin to strategic navigation should be explored as the framework within which indicators can be selected and used. This urban governance mode needs to be adaptive, responsive and tied to trajectories and scenarios.
- Preparation of resilience assessments and plans at both the local and the regional level should be identified as an additional undertaking in the RUFS.
- In the same way that the robustness of energy and transportation systems are addressed in the draft RUFS, consideration should be given to the robustness of the food supply system for the Stockholm region.

Strategic priorities

The Melbourne experience

Melbourne 2030 includes nine strategic directions, 50 planning policies and 226 initiatives. The first five yearly implementation program was released alongside Melbourne 2030 and included the 226 initiatives, 5 sectoral implementation plans (eg. Transport, Green Wedges, the Urban Growth Boundary, Activity Centres and Housing) and a Planning Advisory Note (to give Melbourne 2030 legal status in the planning system).

The development of a metropolitan plan is a considerable undertaking. A medium term objective is obviously to put in place a comprehensive framework to guide decision making and ongoing implementation efforts by many actors across the region. Significant attention was paid to preparation of a comprehensive implementation program for Melbourne 2030 following analysis of where previous metropolitan strategies had fallen short. Invariably in Melbourne it was not that the strategic directions of past strategies were flawed, rather that they had not been satisfactorily implemented. The most obvious examples in Melbourne's case have been the persistent underinvestment in public transport, the persistent low densities and proliferation of development outside of activity centres.

However within the context of a comprehensive implementation program it is also important to identify strategic priorities to both take advantage of the significant momentum created for action and change through the process of preparing a metropolitan strategy and to concentrate short term efforts post-release on the most leveragable strategies. Melbourne 2030 achieved the first of these, but not the second.

Some of the cornerstone implementation commitments that accompanied release of Melbourne 2030 included:

- legislative protection for an Urban Growth Boundary and the green wedges
- public commitment to achieving 2o per cent public transport patronage by 2020 (an increase from 8 per cent in 2001)
- a new Transit City capital investment/neighbourhood redevelopment program to revitalise activity centres
- creation of a new Growth Area Authority to coordinate growth area development

These key actions were announced on release of Melbourne 2030 and enabled the State Government to demonstrate it was serious about achieving significant urban change. This was particularly important in Melbourne where the most recent past metropolitan strategies were significantly criticised for lack of accompanying implementation commitments.

In Melbourne, the State Government has significantly more implementation mechanisms at its disposal than the Stockholm County Council. Therefore, inclusion of a comprehensive implementation plan in Melbourne 2030 was an effective way to achieve whole of government support for implementation. This was initially very successful. However, the comprehensiveness of the implementation program (226 initiatives and 5 sectoral implementation plans) also had the following unexpected adverse affects:

• coordination of the program was handled centrally, took a significant amount of resources and worked against a culture of proactive dispersed ownership by actors outside the Strategy Development Division
• as implementation existed with in Christensen's (1985) 'programming' quadrant, continued innovation and responsiveness was not the dominant culture
• the comprehensiveness of the implementation plans meant that most resources were allocated to progressing the 226 initiatives leaving insufficient resources to keep track of the bigger picture, monitor progress against scenarios and identify necessary adjustments towards preferable trajectories.

Following feedback from the ASFI and considerable systems mapping a handful of leverageable strategies/strategic priorities central to shaping the whole urban system were identified and work began to audit the alignment of implementation effort with these. After some deliberation the core project team identified the following strategies priorities or leveragable strategies:

• **Better alignment of infrastructure investment** – Melbourne 2030 includes proposed infrastructure investment of around $10B, however not all projects being put forward for Government approval were consistent with the strategy, significantly undermining the ability to achieving the vision.
• **Achieve shift away from growth areas/suburbs towards activity centres /strategic redevelopment sites** – Melbourne is a very low density city outside the inner suburbs and a huge effort was required to achieve a more compact urban form.
• **Better stakeholder/community engagement** – to achieve significant urban change collaborative action across a broad range of stakeholder is required.

On the first of these – better alignment of infrastructure investment – our systems analysis showed that the single most effective action would be to change the criteria used by the Department of Treasury and Finance to determine what capital infrastructure investment projects were prioritised in the Government's multi-year investment strategy. Implementation efforts were focused to this end and within three months the criteria had been changed and all Government Departments were required to demonstrate the consistency of proposed projects with Melbourne 2030. In this way a systemic solution to a strategic priority was identified and implemented thus freeing up resources to focus on the next strategic priority.

  It is important to note that both population growth and public transport patronage have grown significant faster than even the high range scenarios expected. The recent 5 yearly audit of Melbourne 2030 found that the population growth projected by 2030 is now expected by 2020. Similarly, there has been a much higher shift to public transport in response to increasing oil prices and living expenses. Together this has put extreme pressure on an already strained public transport network.

Many have been critical of the Government's underinvestment in public transport and already a new transport plan is being prepared that is widely expected to bring forward planned investment to build capacity in the system.

Relevance for the draft Stockholm RUFS

Whilst the draft RUFS does not include an implementation program, the scope of the social, economic and environmental goals in the strategy is similarly broad as Melbourne 2030. Numerous flow on actions will be required to follow through on the 30 planning goals and 54 undertakings contained in the draft RUFS.

A key question for the Stockholm region is whether the draft RUFS adequately identifies strategic priorities. This is considered useful at this stage of the process both to make the most of the considerable momentum generated through the plan development process and to focus short to medium term implementation efforts following release of the plan.

One possible strategic priority that emerged from reviewing the draft RUFS is to design ongoing collaborative arrangements for implementation of the draft RUFS between relevant actors. Consideration could even be given to including this as an additional component of the vision/goals/strategies diagram in the draft RUFS.[7] In Melbourne 2030 overall governance considerations were included as Direction 9 'Better planning decision, careful management' in an attempt to ensure they remained in focus. This could be even more important for the Stockholm region given that the draft RUFS does include an implementation program and given the particular coordination challenges identified by the OECD. Other possible strategic priorities could include improving the liveability of activity centres, the alignment of infrastructure investment and the need for more comprehensive local and regional resilience planning.

Another way to address the issue of strategic priorities is to consider what guidance the RUFS 2010 will provide for resolving the inevitable tradeoffs that will confront decision makers over time. The challenges identified in the draft RUFS[8] well capture the difficulty of resolving apparently competing objectives between economic growth and environmental outcomes, between short term needs and long term aspirations, etc. Indeed, the environmental assessment[9] already highlights various ways in which economic growth is being prioritised over environmental outcomes. The draft RUFS does not currently resolve this dilemma. Melbourne 2030 addressed this same issue by including sustainability criteria[10] that were subsequently incorporated into planning law as a basis for decision making involving tradeoffs. The RUFS could consider a similar approach. Furthermore, given the existing competitive strengths of the Stockholm region in both environmental performance and innovation, consideration should also be given to how even stronger commitments to environmental innovation can be prioritised through the RUFS as a way to deliver medium-long term economic growth.

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[7] Regional utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen – RUFS 2010 Samrådsförslag, page 33
[8] Regional utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen – RUFS 2010 Samrådsförslag, pages 215–218
[9] Regional utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen – RUFS 2010 Samrådsförslag, pages 226–229
[10] Regional utvecklingsplan för Stockholmsregionen – RUFS 2010 Samrådsförslag, page 171

Strategic considerations:

• Sustainable decision principles should be included in the RUFS to provide a basis for dealing with the inevitable trade-offs that will be required between various goals and strategies and in light of the identified challenges over time. These should be appropriate to the decision arena.

• Consideration should be given to whether there are any strategic implementation priorities that could be agreed to accompany release of the RUFS.

• A systems assessment of the key leveragable strategies that have the potential to shape the whole urban system should be undertaken and prioritised in the subsequent implementation program.

Ongoing ownership for implementation beyond release of RUFS 2010

The Melbourne experience

There has only been one metropolitan strategy in the history of Melbourne that has received bipartisan support (endorsement by both main political parties) on release – the 1971 plan for Melbourne. In the absence of explicit bipartisan support it is critical that the process of preparing a metropolitan strategy builds as broad a support base as possible. This is critical as a metropolitan strategy needs to be robust to changes of government both at the local and state levels.

There were many attempts to build very broad support and ownership for Melbourne 2030 throughout the preparation process. Significant attention was given to the meta-conditions needed to sustain ownership for implementation of the strategy over time as I have previously summarised:

'In formulating Melbourne 2030, it was acknowledged that implementation of such a complex development plan would involve many players within and beyond the state government, its institutions and agencies, and many activities beyond the state's formal planning system of legislation and regulation. This is why the state government put Melbourne 2030 through extensive consultation within and beyond government and then made sure its approval was undertaken by the whole government. Melbourne 2030 has been adopted by Cabinet as government policy, binding on all state government ministers, departments and agencies that have responsibility to pursue its policies. This has been done deliberately to instil a strong awareness that any such plan or strategy has significance within the overarching frameworks of governance for the city, irrespective of the means by which it is implemented.' [11]

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[11] Niven and Wilkinson 2005:216

These processes were very successful with respect to the public level of support given by almost all relevant actors when Melbourne 2030 was released. With one exception (the Public Transport Users Association), stakeholders were publicly supportive of Melbourne 2030 when it was released and indicated a willingness to work together to progress implementation. The trust built between key individuals within local government, state government and peak stakeholders provided a solid foundation for ongoing working relationships as sectoral initiatives were further developed.

However, after two years of implementation, this support began to wane. The Strategy Development Division (responsible for coordinating Melbourne 2030 Implementation for the Victorian Government) worked with the Australian Strategic Foresight Institute (ASFI) to address this and other implementation issues. The ASFI observed that the central dynamic had become one of Melbourne 2030 being implemented as a 'centrally owned plan whose implications are communicated outwards to the community' from the State Government.[12] They concluded that despite all intentions to the contrary the ownership balance for implementation post-release had been focused internally to the Strategy Development Division of DSE and that this was untenable. They illustrated this point with Figure 2 showing that despite the fact that the Strategy Development Division was responsible for coordinating implementation of Melbourne 2030's 226 initiatives, they had actual control over only a minutia of relevant actors. Since successful implementation of Melbourne 2030 was dependent on the cumulative actions of so many actors, who could not be controlled per se, a governance model that had inadvertently become one of central control would not suit the purpose. It did not reflect the reality of the city as a complex adaptive system where 'policy effects are emergent properties'[13] affected by many actors. This reflects 'one of the recurrent problems of instrumental policy making ... the breakdown of the planning and coordination function of centralized policy makers' in settings of dynamic complexity.[14]

Figure 2. *Capacity to affect actors*
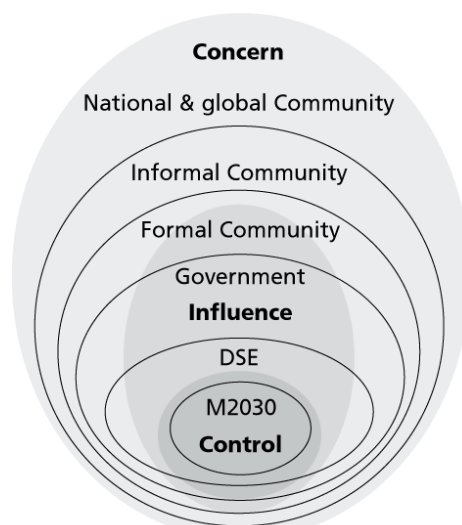
Source:
Thoughtpost edge 2005

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[12] thoughtpost edge 2005:2
[13] Waagenar 2007:43
[14] Waagenar 2007:43

In order to improve ownership of implementation of Melbourne 2030, the Strategy Development Division began to work with Dr Richard Hames from the ASFI to reframe their role and approach to achieve the following shifts:
- from owner/controller of the plan TO steward/custodian of the process
- from peak body engagement focus TO grass roots networks as well
- from centralised coordination of implementation TO distributed coordination

One practical way this shift in approach was implemented was to undertake detailed systems mapping of 'hot' implementation issues as they would arise as a basis for adaptive responses.

Relevance for the draft Stockholm RUFS
The political structures in Sweden and throughout the Stockholm region are very different to Melbourne and in many ways help to overcome some of the problems Melbourne experienced with respect to maintaining ownership for implementation. However, they will likely present their own challenges.

Currently the draft RUFS does not include an implementation plan per se. The RUFS will have official status as the Regional Plan in law and regulation and will be a basis for local government planning, local government collaboration, regional investment programs and national investment planning. However, there is very little guidance or discussion in the strategy about how this will be achieved. Recalling *Figure 1* it is important to consider what type of planning response is desirable. At the moment, as the draft RUFS is relatively silent about the strategic design of the ongoing implementation process *and* is not specific about implementation measures. The likely planning response is one that leaves very open how order can be discovered or created (see bottom right corner of Christensen's typology). Consideration needs to be given to whether a 'bargaining' (accommodation of multiple preferences) or 'experimentation' (innovation, responsiveness) is instead preferable.

This raises broader urban governance considerations for the Stockholm region. The OECD has addressed these in the broad without the benefit of the draft RUFS in their 2006 report on the Stockholm region. With the context of the draft RUFS and with the benefit of Melbourne's recent experience the following observation can be made.

Like most metropolitan strategies, the draft RUFS focuses more on the vision/goals/strategies (the what) than on what actions/changes etc. will be required to achieve these (the how). Even in Melbourne, where the State Government enjoys a relatively high degree of control and implementation powers, coordination of diverse actors was a challenge. Throughout the Stockholm Region, where responsibility is in many ways even more devolved to local government, the challenge of coordination is an even greater challenge. There is considerable opportunity for more discussion and resolution within the draft RUFS and in the strategic design of the ongoing strategising process of how ownership for ongoing implementation will be maintained.

Furthermore, consideration should be given now to how the story/ies of the RUFS will be communicated. Crafting such narratives/stories could be a useful exercise to experiment with sooner rather than later as it can help test the overall robustness, internal consistency and relevance of the RUFS for key actor groups, including decision makers. The aim could be to create relevant central storylines for each of the three different aspirational levels:

- Vision/goals/strategies – 40 years
- Spatial plan and undertakings – 20 years
- Implementation program – 10 years

Creating powerful change stories is a way to continue to focus the energies of relevant actors to coordinate often difficult change. Stories have the capacity to capture the inherent complexity and uncertainty in cities in a non-threatening way at the same time as clearly communicating the strategic priorities of the RUFS.

Strategic considerations:
- The design of next phase of the RUFS process focussed on developing the ongoing implementation program needs to begin now in order to maximise the opportunity to sustain and grow ownership for the extensive coordination efforts required across a diverse range of actors. This is critical to avoid losing the momentum generated to date.
- Consideration should be given at this stage of the RUFS process to creating narrative/s that can be woven together to share the story of the complexities and strategic priorities of the RUFS.

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Appendix

Melbourne 2030 and the draft Stockholm RUFS compared

	Stockholm draft RUFS	Melbourne 2030
Vision	The Stockholm region will be Europe's most attractive big city region	In the next 30 years Melbourne will grow by up to 1 million people and will consolidate its reputation as one of the most liveable, attractive and prosperous areas in the world for residents, business and visitors.
Principles		Sustainability Innovation Adaptability Inclusiveness Equity Leadership Partnership
Goals	An open and accessible region A leading growth region A region with good quality of life A resource effective region	
Strategies	Increase enduring capacity and quality through the education, transport and housing sectors. Develop ideas and renewal capacity. Secure values for future needs. Further develop a multi-nodal and compact region. Strong united approach Free life chances	
Planning goals	30 planning goals 54 undertakings	9 Key Directions 50 Policies A more compact city Better management of urban growth Networks with the regional cities A more prosperous city A great place to be A fairer city A greener city Better transport links Better planning decision, careful management
Sustainability	Environmental assessment undertaken through the process	Sustainability criteria to be used when trade-offs required. Development of the Melbourne Principles for Sustainable Cities
Urban development options	Compact Dispersed Plus several others prior to selection of 2 for public comment	Compact-contained Dispersed Growth areas Regional dispersed Major regional centres Multiple centres

Time perspective	40 year (until 2050) for vision, goals and strategies 20 year (until 2030) for spatial plan, planning goals and undertakings (consistent with council planning) 10 year (until 2010) for implementation including management program	30 year (until 2030) for vision, principles, key directions and policies 5 year implementation plan
Geography	Stockholms län Uppsala län Södermanlands län Västmanlands län Örebro län Gävleborgs län Östergötlands län	Melbourne 4 regional growth corridors (Geelong, Bendigo, Ballarat, Seymour, Traralgon)
Population projections	High, Low (to 2030) Stockholms län High + 535,000 population (total of 2.4 million) Low + 315,000 population Rest of Östra Mellansverige High + 670,000 population (total of 4.4 million) Low + 420,000 population Östra Mellansverige 330,000–470,000 households	High, Medium, Low (to 2031) Medium (trend) + 620,000 households + 925,000 population
Challenges	To enable population growth at the same time as improve environment and health To be a small large city region and an international leader To make the region more secure at the same time that uncertainty in the surrounding world grows To minimise climate impact and develop as much economic growth as possible To address existing shortfalls/ needs whilst continuing to grow To open up the region whilst minimising exclusion	Economic opportunity Development pressure Increasing inequality Transport choice Environmental damage Challenge Melbourne released at the start of the process to provide context for broad challenges.
Implementation		
Management program	Not part of RUFS	226 initiatives 5 Implementation plans 1 Advisory Note
Targets	Greenhouse gas emission reduction to 4% of 1990 levels during 2008–2012; 75–90% of 1990 levels by 2050	20% public transport use by 2020 Housing distribution aspirations
Competitive advantages	Quality of life Environmental performance Innovation	Economic competitiveness Liveability Diverse people An attractive urban environment